

A Special Moment

the democratic
upsurge against
Reaganism

This pamphlet contains excerpts from an April 23, 1988 report to the National Committee and National Council by Gus Hall, national chairman of the Communist Party, USA.

Please let us know what you think of this pamphlet. We welcome your comments. Send all correspondence to: Communist Party, USA, 235 West 23rd Street, New York, NY 10011.

June 1988

A special moment

This is a special moment — exciting and bursting with potential.

Politics has broken out of the mold of traditional patterns. The people's movements and the working class are on the move in a great democratic upsurge. Unity in struggle is acquiring new meaning, new dimensions. The people's majorities are coalescing into an action-oriented upsurge of millions of people who are ready to unite and fight to win back what Reaganism and Reaganomics have stolen from them.

The people are on to Reagan. Their mood has shifted dramatically. All the bubbles have burst.

Many progressives and liberals who have been hybernating in their caves of disillusionment for most of the Reagan years have come out and are waking up politically.

The end of Reaganism is giving new hope, reviving expectations and new confidence in change. The Jesse Jackson campaign has tapped into this powerful, new energy source. His campaign is riding the crest of the new political upsurge.

The beginning of the end of the nuclear arms race and the Moscow Summit are lifting the spirits of millions.

The election campaigns are pregnant with the possibility of further shifting the balance of forces in Congress.

The challenge is to help channel this momentum, to relate these multi-class coalition movements to the general electoral and legislative arena, to help decide where they will go after the primaries, after the Democratic Party convention and after the November elections.

The new upsurge is still gathering momentum. How we as a Party respond to this initial stage will largely determine what our contribution will be when the momentum reaches new qualitative levels.

breaking up the gridlocks

The world scene continues to become more complex. There are victories and setbacks. There are many new developments, but many of the old problems remain. All of this adds to the puzzle.

However, the overall motion in world affairs is in a positive, progressive direction. Many of the world political gridlocks are breaking up.

Reaganism is running out of steam and out of time. And Congress has shifted into a veto override mode.

The Washington Summit and the signing of the INF treaty broke the 40-year nuclear arms race gridlock, in spite of the fact that some Reaganites are trying to torpedo the disarmament process.

The courage, commitment and fighting spirit of the Sandinistas, the signing of the Arias peace plan and the Congressional cutoff of military aid to the contras has crippled the Reagan policy of attempting to overthrow the democratically elected government in Nicaragua.

The Palestinians fighting for national liberation from Israeli terrorism are breaking the U.S.-Israeli stranglehold on the Middle East. The "grasshoppers with stones" have become more powerful than Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's armed thugs.

The government of Afghanistan has succeeded in achieving a victory over the Afghan contras while offering a plan for reconciliation, which includes a return to their homeland and a withdrawal of Soviet troops within months.

The policies of perestroika and glasnost are breaking through the bottlenecks of the past, propelling the Soviet Union onto a new, higher road of energized and revitalized socialism.

As the countdown of Reagan's last days continues, a mass exodus from Washington is under way. Planes and trains are loading up with all kinds of rats jumping the sinking ship of state — supply-side economists, corporate deregulators, union busters, racist bigots, corporate insiders and cutthroat contra supporters. Crooks and swindlers of every stripe are moving out. High-paying jobs in the Department of Justice go begging. Gone are Casey, North, Poindexter, McFarlane, Deaver, Nofziger, Watts, Regan, Adelman, Weinberger and Perle, just to name a few.

Then there are the crooks and cronies in official government positions who are about to be indicted, or are waiting for trial or sentencing. The list keeps growing of convicted felons holding their breath, expecting presidential pardons.

Never in U.S. history have so many top government officials been escorted by federal marshalls from the White House into courtrooms to be indicted, tried and sentenced for crime and corruption.

On the other side, the presidential campaign is breaking up the conservative electoral logjam and giving the American people a historic opportunity to express their anger at Reaganism and their new sentiments on many issues.

Thus, there are breaks in the gridlocks in the United States and around the world. But the political traffic is far from free-flowing. Not all the avenues are gridlock-free.

the world scene

The INF treaty is an important break with the 40-year nuclear arms race. It is a setback for those who have been pursuing policies of nuclear superiority and first strike. They see the agreement as a defeat, a temporary retreat, but they have not given up. The Kissinger-Nixon wrecking crew is working overtime. The anti-Soviet, pro-war bloc is out to block any agreement on a 50% reduction in all strategic nuclear missiles.

NATO and the Pentagon have not given up the policy of nuclear and military superiority and of regaining world domination. The moment the INF treaty was initialed in Washington they began to push for a policy that would compensate for the loss of the Pershing and cruise missiles. Their plans include:

- retention and modernization of tactical nuclear missiles in Europe:
- the buildup of nuclear artillery systems:
- redeployment of F-111 nuclear bombers to Europe:
- and an emergency project (already in place) to accelerate

the development of the "SMART" unmanned nuclear missile, which can be fired from land, ship or planes.

NATO and Pentagon military laboratories are busy developing new kinds of nuclear weapons systems that can get around the INF treaty.

Thought patterns and public opinion always follow some distance behind objective developments. Nuclear and military technology have reached the level at which no one can win a nuclear confrontation. No one can win a military arms race on earth. And no one can win a race to nuclearize outer space.

If the policy of military and nuclear superiority can lead only to a dead end for humanity, why do some continue to push the arms race? Because they believe that more sophisticated nuclear weapons means more security. They are convinced they can win a nuclear war. They place their class interests above universal human interests.

For example, the Reagan Administration is requesting an increase of \$900 million over the current Star Wars budget of \$3.5 billion, and a 4% increase in funding for guided nuclear missiles.

good ideas & reason are not enough

In the arena of propaganda and agitation, logic and good ideas are necessary. But even the best of ideas only have the power to make history when they are adopted by the people and transformed into life, into action.

Government officials, corporate insiders, politicians and generals take notice only when people force them to, only when the balance of forces shifts in a progressive direction and they are forced to make concessions.

In all negotiations with the ruling class — for management contracts or for peace treaties — it is necessary to seek mutually acceptable compromises. But it is necessary to do so knowing that under capitalism there is and always will be a basic class contradiction inherent in the laws of objective developments.

It is not possible to negotiate away this class contradiction. Good ideas and good will cannot melt away the class struggle. This is the difference between us and the idealists.

A negotiated contract reflects the balance of forces. The better the contract, the better the conditions for advancing the struggle to higher levels, and the better the chances of winning.

the mideast

The latest Schultz-Bechtel Corporation road show in the Mideast closed after two bad runs and critical reviews. On these road shows it is almost impossible to distinguish between George Shultz, the U.S. secretary of state and George Shultz, president of the Bechtel Corporation.

The Israeli government is split, but not over whether Israel should give up the occupied territories, or whether to support an international conference. The split is over whether they should go through with the Shultz charade conference. Shamir is afraid that some may take seriously even a phony conference.

Shultz's phony conference would be a talk fest, a charade in which members of the United Nations Security Council would meet with no plan, no power and no purpose, except to rubber stamp the Shultz plan and to pressure the Arab countries into bowing to Israel.

The Shultz scheme ignores the interests of the Palestinian people and pushes for separate deals between Israel and Jordan at the expense of the Palestinians. Its bottom line is to make dirty deals that will leave U.S. oil interests intact and in control, including, of course, Shultz's and Weinberger's Bechtel Corporation. U.S. naval forces are in the Persian Gulf for the same reason.

Speaking about a just and realistic solution, Meir Vilner, general secretary of the Communist Party of Israel said,

"The only way out is a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East crisis, taking into account the interests of all sides and with the participation of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

"We stand for a peaceful settlement which would take into account the interests of all sides. Like other political forces in Israel, we adhere to the main principle — two states for two nations.

"The way to this lies through an international conference, a genuine conference, not a smokescreen for separate deals."

All negotiations for a settlement of the crisis must start from

the premise that Israel and the United States must give up their policies of aggression, occupation, annexation and oppression. Only then can a world conference guarantee the borders of all states, including Israel's.

The first step, however, must be for Israel immediately to withdraw from the occupied territories and to end its genocidal campaign of murder, terror, arrests, beatings, curfews, deportations and armed force brutality against Palestinian men, women and children. These territories must become part of a sovereign Palestinian state.

Military actions in the Persian Gulf have escalated. Reagan is once again on his high horse "teaching lessons" to Iran, as he tried to do to Nicaragua.

Washington and the mass media have overloaded the public with propaganda about "teaching Iran a lesson," "in defense of our national interests," "responding to attacks on our right to be in the Gulf," "the necessity of keeping the sea lanes open," and "measured response."

The aim of U.S. imperialism is to use the open sea lane issue to establish its dominance not only over the sea lanes, but also over the oil reserves and the countries around the Gulf, including Iran and Iraq.

The war between Iran and Iraq is a war without winners, except for imperialism. It was started by Iraq. But Iran has become the aggressor by its refusal to accept Iraq's proposals to end the war without a winner or a loser.

It is important to keep the sea lanes open. But this issue must be removed as a cover for imperialism. The sea lane issue should be a responsibility of the United Nations. Most countries of the world would support such a solution.

central america

The Reagan administration's policy of aggression in Central America has not changed. It still tolerates only puppet regimes. Any government that attempts to remain non-aligned or that pursues policies of economic or political independence becomes a target of U.S. attacks.

Drug trafficking is not only acceptable to the Reagan administration, it is encouraged as long as the General Noriegas support U.S. policies. Noriega had access to the inner circles of the

Reagan administration through Vice President Bush.

Now Washington is using the drug issue in reverse, but for the same purpose — control and domination.

Behind the scenes in Panama, the Reagan administration is pushing for renegotiation of the Panama Canal treaty, which would include continuing the presence of the large U.S. military bases.

Developments in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Honduras are making it more difficult for the Reagan administration to carry out its policies.

The U.S. policy of "constructive engagement" in relation to South Africa has not changed. Billions of dollars still flow to contra forces attacking Angola, Ethiopia and Mozambique.

In its anxiety about the 1988 elections, the Pentagon is rushing stockpiles of war materiel to all corners of the world. The size of these stockpiles was exposed when one exploded before it could be transferred to the contras in Afghanistan. The stockpiles are sophisticated and massive.

reaganism after reagan

The Reagan policy of aggression and counterrevolution will not fade away of its own accord. The Reaganites are maneuvering now to guarantee that their policies will be continued in the next administration.

For example, the military-industrial pipeline is stuffed with hundreds of billions of dollars in contracts for military supplies and weapons that will keep the war industry going for many years to come.

Ultra-right judges who have been appointed to the federal bench, especially to the Supreme Court, will be with us for decades.

The \$3 trillion national debt, the huge trade deficit, the \$600 billion yearly tax giveaway to the rich, will remain intact after Reagan ides back to his California ranch.

We cannot afford to wait until Reagan leaves. What is needed now is action — protests, demonstrations, movements and coalitions.

The June 11 demonstration comes just in time for the people to express their strong sentiments for advancing the disarmament process. Although Reagan will go to Moscow before the

demonstration, the international character of the demonstration, the organization and mobilization for the event, will have its effect on Reagan in Moscow.

The 1988 elections can go a long way toward clearing the boards to turn our country around on January 20, 1989.

There is a new sense that we are coming to the end of one period, a period of moving backwards, and the beginning of a period of forward motion.

This is a moment when millions of people are turning on to politics and moving on the issues. We must make the most of it.

the economy

The economy presents a mixed bag. Three factors keep it from slipping below the water line, at least until November 8, 1988.

1) Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank, is helping Bush by manipulating the interest rates;

2) Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci, following in Weinberger's footsteps, is awarding military contracts so that there will be no decline in military-related production jobs before Election Day.

3) Treasury Secretary James Baker is manipulating the dollar so that, at election time, U.S. exports will rise and create some jobs.

The Reaganites are playing their cards to do their supply-side best to hold things together until the elections are over. However, the stock market ups and downs are sending chills through the economy. No one has come up with a way to make the market act right until November 8.

The stock market recently experienced a 100-point mini-crash. Since the October crash the stock market has been described as "fragile" and "supersensitive." The most recent mini-crash was triggered by an increase in the U.S. trade deficit.

But the market is sensitive to much more than the trade deficit. It is responding to the instability of the dollar and the increase in interest rates.

It is also sensitive to the pre-financial crisis. Banks are going

bankrupt at a fast pace, and government agencies set up to save banks and their deposits are themselves on the verge of bankruptcy.

The market also reflects the fact that the economy is "fragile." But there is nothing fragile or sensitive about what the Congress and the Reaganites are doing to people-helping programs.

Reagan is getting ready to veto a very mild plant closing bill. And the Republicans, with the help of some Democrats, are working to block the passage of pro-people bills, including

- a bill to force corporations to notify workers of health and safety hazards;
- a bill for long-term health insurance;
- a bill that would provide parental leave with pay;
- and a catastrophic health care bill.

We are now seeing the purpose of the Gramm-Rudman Act. The President and Congress hide behind it. They are able to say, with a straight demagogic face, "we are for the program, but because of Gramm-Rudman we just don't have the money." Of course, when it comes to money for the military, Gramm-Rudman is no obstacle.

the economic landscape

In the overall economic picture there are both positives and negatives. The corporations and banks get the positives and the working class and poor get the negatives.

On top of the list of corporate positives are the all-time high profits, a 36% increase over last year.

Topping the negative list is the continuing decline in real wages and the increase in poverty. Economic hard times are measured by lost jobs and shattered lives, boarded-up main streets and shut down factories.

In human terms, the standard of living continues to decline. The Reagan administration announces big job increases, but never mentions that most of them are the lowest paying jobs, at minimum (and increasingly below minimum) wages. In the Reagan years each American worker has lost \$2,700 per year in real wages.

During Reagan's terms in office Afro-Americans have lost 27% of their manufacturing jobs and white workers have lost 19% of theirs. And an ever increasing number of workers, over

20 million, can find only part-time jobs. Three million part-time workers live below the poverty level, with no paid vacations, pension plans or health insurance.

Thirty-seven million workers are without health insurance.

The number of homeless continues to grow. More than 6 million are homeless now, and many are families, women and children. There are no projects for affordable housing in the economic pipeline. It will take years to make up for the seven years during which no affordable housing was built.

The corporations now pay 8.5% of the taxes, down from 25% in 1980. The rich paid 70% of the taxes in 1980 and now pay only 35%. This is a tremendous shift from the corporations and super rich to the backs of workers and the poor. From now on each new generation will have no chance of achieving a higher standard of living than the previous generation.

In spite of the shift in the relative value of the dollar and some increase in U.S. exports, the U.S. share of the capitalist world pie continues to shrink.

Not too many years ago U.S. banks and the government held 70% of all the capitalist world's gold reserves. Today Japan is the world's largest holder of foreign currencies and gold. The United States is in fifth place and dropping.

This continuing and expanding financial crisis of world capitalism is not a cyclical development. It is more related to the deepening of the general crisis of world capitalism. Each day that goes by without any solution deepens the crisis of the Third World debt.

The federal government's debt is reaching \$3 trillion, accompanied by \$1 trillion in annual interest payments on government and private debt.

Industrial conglomerates in this country are in hock to the tune of \$2 trillion.

As a result bank failures are epidemic. In Texas they are a plague. Some are saying that the banks are no longer made of marble — as the old song says — but of plastic.

If the bank is big enough the federal government bails it out at \$1 billion a clip. But if it is small fry it goes down the drain of bankruptcy. American taxpayers are going to pay \$100 billion to bail out the big banks.

This financial gridlock is related to the decay of U.S. and

world capitalism.

The American people pay for all this through higher taxes, higher prices, wage cuts and cuts in people-helping programs. Every bank bailout produces 10,000 more homeless, and 10,000 family farmers go under because they are considered too small to be saved.

There are some short-term ups and downs in the production side of the economy. But they are all taking place at a much lower level. Some of them are taking place because of new technology. Some as a result of the manipulated lower dollar. Many of them are related to the continuing high level of military orders.

But there is no change in the economic picture. It remains unstable. The cyclical crisis is being postponed, but the factors that will bring on the next crisis keep broadening and deepening the hole the economy will fall into when the crisis hits.

the '88 elections

The presidential elections are at a halfway point, but they have already left their mark on history.

As was expected, Bush will be the Republican candidate. The Democratic candidate is still to be decided. The possibility is growing that the Democratic convention will decide the nomination. What adds to the uncertainty is that when the convention opens it is possible that one of the biggest blocs will be the undecided delegates.

More than ever there will be buying and selling, wheeling and dealing on an unprecedented scale — cabinet posts, ambassadorships will go to the highest bidder. There will also be a sharper struggle over the platform.

the jackson factor

Jesse Jackson is a good campaigner. But what really stands out is his stand on some of the issues.

Jackson comes out clearly for taxing the rich.

Originally, only Jackson came out for a national health insurance plan. Recently, Dukakis has followed.

Only Jackson comes out against the multinational corporations.

Only Jackson comes out for the right to a job and against plant closings.

Only Jackson comes out against Reagan's policies of aggression in Central America and against Reagan's support of apartheid in South Africa.

Jackson's campaign is based on the assessment that the thought patterns of Americans have shifted from right to center and left.

The Jackson campaign is focusing on the issues the workers, Afro-Americans, the poor, the farmers — most of the people — are concerned about.

Jackson's program will influence the Democratic convention platform and the presidential, congressional and senatorial races.

rejecting the right

The other factor that is leaving its imprint on the political scene is the way the electorate has rejected the more right-wing candidates — Kemp, DuPont, Haig, Dole and Robertson.

At the local level voters also purged some candidates who shaped their campaigns on the basis that the people had moved to the right.

The response to the Jackson campaign shows a continuing decline in the sharp edges of racism. But the response also shows that racism is still a factor, even with voters who agree with Jackson's advanced proposals.

The campaign around Jackson has emerged as a broad-based, all-people's movement, in the very center of which is the Afro-American-labor coalition. It is a further development of the anti-apartheid, anti-Bork movements. The Jackson campaign has also revived and drawn in many of the New Deal, McGovern-type liberals and progressives.

We must give a lot thought to how this coalition will develop after the primaries, after the Democratic Party convention and after the elections. We cannot lay out blueprints, but we

should have some idea of where we think this movement can go. Many of those in this movement will work mainly within the Democratic Party. Some will work within the Republican Party. They will find forms that reflect their desire to be independent politically, but Democrats organizationally. In addition, a growing number want to be independent both politically and organizationally.

The challenge is to maintain the momentum of the upsurge

- through conferences at state and congressional district levels;

- as the mass base for Senate and Congressional candidates.

- by calling issues conferences.

- and by revitalizing labor PACs and the Rainbow Coalition.

broadening the focus

To this point in the election campaign, the focus has been mainly, and understandably, on the presidential race. However, it is possible that right-wing Republicans and Democrats could again become the dominant force in both the House and Senate. This would be a serious setback, no matter who is elected president.

During the past two years Congress has been more assertive, more decisive. It can become an effective block to the Reagan-appointed ultra-right federal judges.

political independence

Short-term, ad hoc committees of all kinds have become the most widespread form of political independence. But political independence must become a more stable, long-term factor.

The ad hoc committees of labor and others are campaigning more as part of the Democratic Party machine. But the number of active labor PACs and active units of the Rainbow Coalition has declined. Revitalizing these independent forms is an important task.

It would be a mistake to limit work on political independence to the Democratic Party machine. What is needed are grass-roots initiatives. Without them the election of workingclass, Afro-American, Chicano and generally progressive

candidates will be more difficult.

In about eight months Reagan will leave the political scene. We happily give him back to California. But Reaganism, in the form of right-wing candidates, will remain. So political independence, all-people's unity against the ultra-right, against racism, against the anti-labor, pro-war candidates, must continue and accelerate.

bush-kemp program

Although the Reaganites and the ultra-right, including the fascist fringe, are isolated and in disarray, they never give up.

Eight years ago the blueprint for Reaganism was put together by the ultra-right, fascist-fringe Heritage Foundation, established by the Hunts and Perots of Texas and other right-wing corporate heads.

The same gang has come up with a new program for a Bush-Kemp ticket. This program is being sent to all delegates to the Republican convention.

The program consists of three volumes, two from the Heritage Foundation and one from Paul Weyrich's Free Congress Foundation. It is a most comprehensive blueprint for extreme reaction. In some ways it goes way beyond the "whiff of fascism" we warned about in 1980. It is pro-war, anti-people, pro-imperialist, anti-labor, racist and totally anti-human. It is an all-in-one blueprint for continuing Reaganism without Reagan.

other pitfalls

We must keep our eye on other pitfalls during this election campaign. Some people are beginning to push the line that the Democratic Party is becoming the new people's progressive party. We must not fall under that spell. The Democratic and Republican Parties are parties of big business. This will not change.

The corporate Democrats are tightening their grip on the Democratic Party's machine, nationally as well as locally. They are holding training sessions on how to co-opt and control.

communist candidates

The Party's decision not to run a Communist presidential ticket was not an easy one. But we have received more media coverage because we are not running than when we announced

in the past we were running.

There are pluses and minuses. But the pluses outweigh the minuses. Our decision to run 100 Communist and Young Communist League candidates for local office was also correct. But, as with other decisions that require followup, it exposed some weaknesses in our Party.

Choosing the number 100 was based both on political need and real possibilities. But it does not look like we will reach our goal. We in the national leadership were not convinced either of the need or of the possibilities.

Our tactics are flexible enough to make it easier for Communists to run. However, we need to broaden our concept of left forms in the electoral arena, including forms in which the Party participates. Party candidates should run with support from broader left forces.

unity in struggle

Our emphasis on unity is very much in keeping with objective developments. There is a growing mood and movement toward unity.

Concern about and determination to put an end to the nuclear arms race, is universal.

Unity in the trade union movement is growing. The teamsters are back in the AFL-CIO and negotiations are underway between the AFL-CIO and other international unions.

During the past period many mergers have occurred:

- the Upholsterers' International Union merged with the United Steelworkers of America;
- the Railroad Yardmasters of America merged with the United Transportation Union;
- the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen merged with the Transportation Communications Union;
- the United Telegraph Workers merged with the Communication Workers of America;

But sections of the leadership of the trade union movement have been caught up in corporate crosswinds. Some have swallowed the corporate line that the only way U.S. products can become competitive is through workers making concessions.

They fall into this trap in spite of the fact that the corporations demanding concessions are raking in billions in profits. Some use job security as a come-on. Some sign contracts with job security clauses that have big, small-print loopholes in them.

For example, some contracts allow corporations to shut plants, put workers on a part-time schedule, and remain closed for weeks and even months at a time, without violating the letter or the spirit of the job security clauses. In some cases these policies have given rise to tightening class collaborationist relationships in the economic arena.

There has been a small decline in product imports from Japan. But there has been a big increase in the importation of class collaborationist concepts and practices. This is a challenge for the left as well as for the Party.

moving left on the economic front

Without diverting the fresh winds or downgrading the positive developments, the left must take up the struggle for fresh winds policies in the economic arena. The left must reflect the growing readiness of workers to take more militant actions in the economic struggles.

Such an approach should in no way restrict the left. On the contrary, the left will continue to broaden and advance if it takes a more class struggle approach to economic struggles.

The most successful left forms usually emerge around specific issues. Workers are ready to fight to regain all that was lost through concessions. Demands such as a six-hour day, doubling the minimum wage, wage increases, health and safety demands, nationalization and public takeover are gaining new acceptance.

We do not yet fully understand the meaning of this new militancy and radicalization process. Not nearly enough initiatives are taken. And some initiatives suffer from a narrowness based on the old concept of the left and on old attitudes of workers.

We also tend to think of left forms as fully developed programs. Sometimes we limit our approach to extreme left groups who are narrow and inflexible to begin with.

While helping to build left forms we also have to participate in the official structure and forms of the labor movement, from local union committees and central labor bodies to coalition forms like Jobs With Justice. For the most part, this is where the left currents can be found, where we can develop new relationships with workers who are moving left.

Left forms can be separate, but wherever possible they should be organized within or related to the trade union structure. Such forms must oppose wrong policies in a way that works to win the leadership to a correct policy. They must not be in opposition to the union leadership.

The top leadership in the AFL-CIO has not given up its struggle against the fresh winds, against the more progressive leadership of some unions.

In some situations the AFL-CIO leadership cooperates with corporations whose workers are fighting for their jobs, for better wages and working conditions. This is more than collaboration. It is class betrayal. Communist and others on the left must expose such acts of betrayal.

As the militancy grows, the need to organize broad left forms becomes more urgent. The initiatives for such forms must come from Communists.

Unfortunately, we have fewer examples of good left initiatives in the peace movement. Although where there are such initiatives the response is very positive.

We should also check on our initiatives for left unity in the movements for Afro-American equality, for women's equality, in the youth and farmers movements, etc.

One interesting example is the breadth of response to the New York May Day celebration. Forty organizations sponsored the event, including socialist organizations, trade unions and environmental groups, as well as left mass organizations. The organizers have correctly concluded that left unity is an indispensable bridge to broader unity.

crisis on the left bank

We are now witnessing another one of the periodic crises of

the super left, some radical and other left groups. Some of the better socialist-oriented groups are also at an all-time low in membership. There have been further splits in their ranks.

Some of the phony left groups are in total disarray and some have disappeared. Their crisis is a reflection of the changing thought patterns. The fresh winds in the trade union movement, the new level of Black-white unity, have left them high and dry — rebels without a cause.

For 60 years ultra-left groups have been feeding from the trough of anti-Sovietism. They have peddled their wares on the fringes of anti-communism. Like the various Trotskyite groups, they have always been for socialism, except where it exists. For them real socialism was always a Communist Party dictatorship and the Coimmunist Party, USA was always too close to the Soviet Union and too bureaucratic. This was their claim to fame, their uniqueness. This made them different. They were always anti-Soviet, anti-communist socialists. This brought them some support within middle class and ruling class circles.

Now things have turned around. The Soviet Union has pulled the rug from under them. Today it is more difficult to be both left and anti-Soviet. Lately, some of the groups have tried to do what they have always accused the Communist Party of doing — getting closer to the Soviet Union.

Thus, they can no longer charge the Communist Party with being too close when they are trying to cozy up to the socialist countries. It is difficult for these groups to switch from being left and anti-Soviet to being left and pro-Soviet — and still be different. That is the dilemma they face.

Some, like Line of March, tried to infiltrate the CPUSA. But their plan has not worked. Some joined, but after seeing our Party from the inside they became critical of the Line of March. That the national chair of the Line of March was found to be a hard drug user added to their crisis.

Honest members are now embarrassed. They have been criticizing our Party for being bureaucratic and now they are shocked to find that their "leading bodies" were never elected by anyone. Some of the leading cadre have given up and some have not. Some are still working at setting up another Communist Party.

They will have to learn that there are no microwave ovens

in which you can cook up a communist party in no time flat. Communist parties are not developed in that way. There can be only one historically tried and true communist party per country. It is difficult to argue that there should be two or even three. There is no way to clone another communist party.

To the honest members of the left groups we say sincerely, "Don't become discouraged or disillusioned about Marxism-Leninism or socialism. Our Party is the kind of party you were searching for. You are welcome in our Party."

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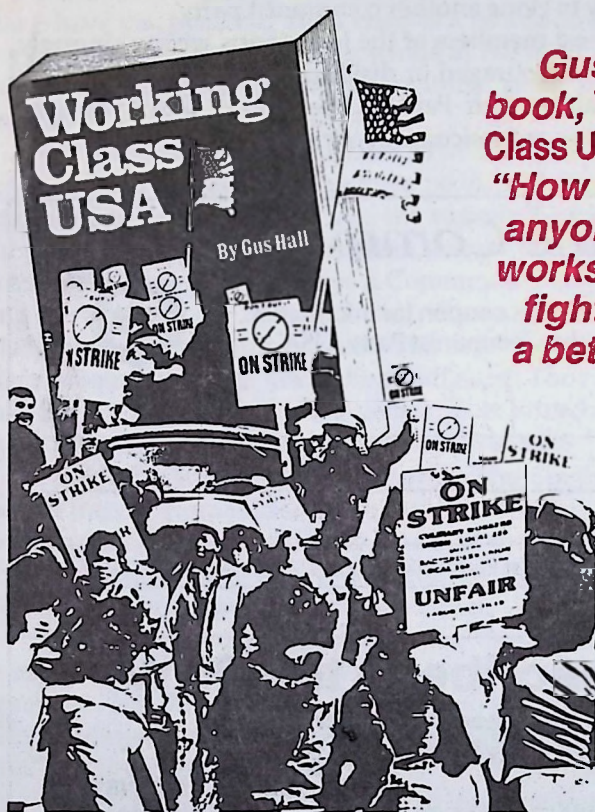
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